THE NEW REPUBLIC

Tax Reform for the Sixties

Matthew J. Kust

Presidential Power

Helen Fuller

Caribbean Labyrinth

Daniel Friedenberg

The Eisenhower Legacy

The Editors

January 16, 1961

7-61 G17953 R7-11-O
KATHERINE G SIMONS
615 VASSAR DR N E
ALBUQUERQUE N MEX

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Short Honeymoon

More news than we can cover. Here's a try –

Yes, Kennedy has been approached by Khrushchev; may send somebody to Moscow.... Averell Harriman indicated.... Key question: Is this more propaganda, or does Khrushchev mean it?

Big question at home: Can Kennedy change America's mood.... He'll probably get all five of his social welfare bills in modified form.... He could get these, however, and fail – for Kennedy's real goal is to achieve a transition from Congressional to Presidential rule, from passive to activist government. The battleground is not Congress but the nation: you and me. He will use every available tool to win, including press, radio, TV.

Present political honeymoon won't last long; we probably face the most partisan period in decades. It will seem all the more so after Eisenhower lull. ... Look for revival of crackpot chauvinism, protectionism, patrioteering, demands to leave UN; elements of this are already appearing among vengeful conservatives.... Republicans will begin with softening-up fights on confirmation of Chester Bowles, Bobby Kennedy, Harvard-trained Negro economist Robert C. Weaver, new housing administrator (joined by Southerners); will imply incoming Administration is soft on Communism (*i.e.*, opposes war in Laos, Cuba and Red China) and fiscally irresponsible (*i.e.*, wants to cut unemployment, speed national growth).

Goldwater is conservatives' white hope: he's just as far right as it's possible to be without being a crackpot (sometimes goes over, as when he hailed college secret fraternities as barriers to Communism).... Goldwater's strength: he believes in attack, attack, attack.... In this he's like McCarthy but he's personally sincere, lucid and refreshingly candid.... He calls Nixon too "liberal" and wants to purge Governor Rockefeller.... He will probably defeat GOP in 1964 and insure Kennedy's re-election because he is so aggressive and conservative he is imposing his image on whole GOP.

What out-of-office Republicans now most need is a national voice to replace the Eisenhower forum at White House. ... Something like the now-dissolved Democratic National Advisory Council would be ideal for GOP but legislative leaders Dirksen, Halleck, Goldwater won't hear of it: they want no rivals.

Cuba – We regard the severance of relations as an act of folly; plays right into Castro's hands ... also 17 days before Eisenhower quits it ties Kennedy's hands without his advice or consent. ... Severing diplomatic relations is like an irate husband telling a wife he won't speak to her ... silly; settles nothing. ... Cuba, like Red China, still remains on the planet; severing relations goes back to Wilson's old notion that we recognize nations on basis of moral judgment, not self-interest....

Will a day ever come when an Administration has humor and imagination enough to meet such things as Cuba's UN invasion charges with a simple statement, "This is too silly to discuss"? Instead of saying that and sitting down our UN man, Wadsworth, got red in the face, exchanging insults with Raul Roa while the world snickered.

Looking for Trouble

★ The business community is blacking its own eye at a great rate, almost seems to be fishing for a Congressional investigation and regulation.... General Electric, Westinghouse and 17 other electrical companies just pleaded guilty in an outrageous price-rigging antitrust suit, biggest in history, covering $8 billion estimated sales ... William Newberg, president of Chrysler, resigned the other day – exposed as holding interest in parts firm that sold to Chrysler.... Now Carrol Shanks, $250,000-a-year president of huge Prudential ("the strength of Gibraltar") has just resigned under pressure in another alleged conflict of interest (he was director of a lumber company that borrowed money from Prudential).... Again, the scorching Jim Landis report to Kennedy on the federal regulatory agencies shows how big business has stepped in and quietly debased them (they are supposed to be policemen for us consumers).... British corporation law forbids things like the Newberg-Shanks deals; we should have it here.

Eisenhower's Promises

Eisenhower's first State of the Union speech came February 2, 1953, lasted an hour, brought rapturous applause 55 times. His farewell one comes January 12.... He first promised to balance the budget – he has had four deficits in seven years, with another coming up. ... He promised to unify the Pentagon – he didn't; end inflation – he didn't; bring prosperity – didn't. This column has said harsh things about nice Ike before – here are some more.

His eight years saw US lose its atomic ascendancy, NATO decay and Cuba defect; his man Dulles showed the bankruptcy of brinkmanship and his chief of staff Sherman Adams retired under a cloud.... He attempted nothing in eight years to improve relations with Red China leaving the probability that it will be admitted to the UN next year (when the demand will be that *we* quit!).... At home he followed a program of economic contraction covered by fatuous optimism that produced three recessions in seven years, hobbled national growth and squeezed the vital interests of the country.... He vetoed housing, unemployment, distressed areas and river pollution bills.... He declined to give moral leadership against McCarthy or for the Supreme Court's ruling against school segregation.... He made the country look silly in the U-2 incident and ended his Administration with the hysterical Anderson gold mission to Bonn and the severance of relations with Cuba.... He left office with 5 million unemployed.... For all this the public loved him as it has no other President and he retires now to Gettysburg with the felicitations and goodwill of an entire nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 144 Number 3 Issue 2410 January 16, 1961*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.* *Copyright© 1961, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.* *Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C.*

THE WEEK

3. The Eisenhower Legacy; Uncertainty in Algeria; Johnson Presiding; Landis on Regulation; S. M. Levitas, 1894-1961

ARTICLES

8. The Superficial Aspect by Gerald W. Johnson
9. The Meaning of Moving Forward – VII
11. Tax Reform for the Sixties by Matthew J. Kust

DEPARTMENTS

17. Books 20. Movies 21. Records
22. Correspondence

THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
Selig S. Harrison, Associate Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

The Eisenhower Legacy

Troubles were accumulating on the horizon. The nation had just gone through a close election. Executive power was now about to pass to another party. The President could scarcely reconcile himself to the surrender of power, nor could he bring himself to regard his successor as sound or deserving. "During these hectic days," according to his biographer Gilbert Chinard, he "remained distant, shut up in the Presidential mansion, apparently unconcerned." John Adams later described the sensations of the lame duck phase of his Presidency by comparing his plight with that of a circus animal whose performance he had once witnessed – grasping a rope in its teeth and being "drawn slowly up by pullies through a storm of squibs, crackers and rockets, flaming and blazing round him every moment; and though the scorching flames made him groan and moan and roar, he would not let go his hold till he had reached the ceiling of a lofty theater, where he hung some time, still suffering a flight of rockets, and at last descended through another storm of burning powder, and never let go till his four feet safely landed on the floor."

No doubt President Eisenhower does not perceive his last days in office as much of an ordeal. He leaves with his closeness to his countrymen, in a sentimental sense, written in molasses in a nationwide salutation on TV. Yet in substantive matters he, too, has behaved in a manner that must be rated as unusually distant and unconcerned even by the standards of the Eisenhower years. In a quarter of a year he has held no press conferences. The carriers *Essex* and *Bennington* with 1,000 battle-ready Marines on board are ordered to patrol offshore near Laos, we are informed, "with the President's knowledge" (who told him, and at what stage of the proceedings?). The formal break of diplomatic relations with Castro had a strangely offhand look. It bore all the marks of an act of plain futility taken with little serious thought to what comes next; though one must add that press and public seemed as unconcerned as the Administration about the sequel. What else was there to do? That is, in brief, what the Administration's explanation amounted to, and the question was posed in one form or another in many newspapers throughout the country – as if asking it somehow contained an answer.

In the cases of both Laos and Cuba the retiring Administration has so narrowed the area of decision left to Mr. Kennedy that no escape seems likely in either instance from what are now foreordained courses of policy. As it happens, Mr. Kennedy probably concurs in the Eisen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hower Administration decision – taken at the eleventh hour under British, French and Indian pressure – assenting to the return of neutralist Souvanna Phouma as a central figure in Vientiane. But the circumstances in which the US has gone back to this line of policy after two years of Machiavellian effort to install a more malleable regime have minimized the chances that even the most sophisticated Kennedy diplomacy can now preserve a non-Communist Laos.

Conscientious criticism of past US errors in Laos must begin with a recognition that in the politically underdeveloped states of Asia and Africa – most of them congeries of social and personal factions rather than national entities in the Western sense – the development of policy is, under the best of circumstances, like trying (as an old State Department hand puts it) to pin cranberry jelly to a wall. One cannot blame those responsible for failing, but rather for the unnecessarily spectacular bull-headedness of some aspects of the job.

Thus the social arithmetic of Laos is that the dominant, Thai-oriented Lao tribe numbers only half the population – not even that much in Xienghouang Province, the scene of last week's hostilities. The rest are members of highland tribes who have for centuries fought Lao acculturation and political control. Despite this, the US has since 1958 put its money almost exclusively on certain segments of the Army – an Army with officers drawn exclusively from the princely Lao elite. (The strength of the pro-Communist Pathet Lao is based in good part on its identification with the social protest both of the anti-Lao tribes and the submerged Lao villagers.)

Similarly, the political arithmetic of Laos has added up unmistakably to majority sentiment for a neutralist government in Vientiane. One cannot estimate precisely what the odds might have been, at any moment in the past five post-Geneva years of the US presence in Laos, for the stabilization of a bonafide neutralism. Quite possibly the relatively cohesive Pathet Lao would, in such a flabby body politic, successfully utilize any coalition government to take over total control. What one can say with assurance, however, is that such non-Communist political strength as did exist in Laos after the Geneva armistice of 1954 has been vitiated by the antipathy of one set of American operatives in Laos toward a neutralist political gamble (an antipathy not shared, according to Warren Unna in the December 15, 1960, *Washington Post*, by Ambassador Winthrop Brown and the ranking CIA observer in the country). Prince Souvanna Phouma himself, Westernized, non-Communist, friendly to the United States, has grown understandably embittered at the US-sponsored shoving around he has received. And yet the Prince is perhaps the one public personality generally respected in Laos for incorruptibility; the pro-US Prince Boun Oum was dismissed in *Time* last week as "a plump sybarite . . . whose favorite companions at lunch turned out to be not candidates for the cabinet but girls from the Vientiane dance halls." Following the May, 1958, elections, the nucleus of a non-Communist leftist opposition may have existed in the Santiphab (Neutrality) Party which had grown out of the old anti-royalist National Union splinter group. The Shantiphab Party held seven seats in the Assembly as against nine for its election ally, the Communist-controlled Neo Lao Haxat. Though all 16 seats of the leftist front were labeled "Communist" in the West, the major election issue had been the corruption of the pro-US regime; there were, as of 1958 at least, neutralists and political drifters under the pro-Communist umbrella who would have allied themselves with Souvanna Phouma in any coalition, according to British, French and Indian intelligence sources, and would thus have tilted the internal Laotian power balance to that extent away from the Pathet Lao.

Would such a balance of power force now coalesce in a Vientiane coalition government? Much of the left is now more fully committed to Communist leadership; the Pathet Lao armies now control much more of the northern provinces; and finally, the US goes into political negotiations on the Laos question having suffered a great loss of face. For the world knows that the US has been pushed to the negotiating table by British and French allies who have simply rejected the leadership of Washington.

In the case of Cuba, unlike Laos, the Eisenhower Administration may have committed Mr. Kennedy to a course he might otherwise have tried to avert. To be sure, the US could not have operated an embassy with a staff of 11 as demanded by Castro. Let us imagine that essential subordinates – security guards, code clerks, radio operators – had been put on a 12-hour shift and a seven-day week and that the number of officers had been cut to a token two or three. Even with such drastic reductions and stretchouts, 11 is simply not enough to run an Embassy. A handful of thugs could have walked in at any time and taken over. The Castro regime was obviously out to provoke a breach of formal relations, and subsequent recriminations and professions of innocence are ridiculously unconvincing. Nonetheless, to some extent the US asked for it. Our diplomatic establishment had swollen to some 300. Whatever buffetings the rule of law has been undergoing in Havana, Parkinson's law was apparently going along on its own majestic course until Castro's order. Under the circumstances, in place of a complete rupture, the US interest might have been best served by a simple explanation of the practical necessities compelling the shutdown of the Embassy, coupled with an expression of our desire to restore normal interchange whenever our neighbors' return to rational conduct

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should permit it. The onus would then have fallen more clearly on Castro for the impasse.

Relations between Havana and Washington are now so embittered that no improvement seems possible in the short run; about all that can be hoped for now is the avoidance of open warfare in the Caribbean. Castro's charge that "armed units of the United States" are going to land in Cuba on or before January 18 may sound absurd. But the anti-Castro propaganda barrage over Radio Swan is insistent, stories and photographs of anti-Castro recruits appear every day in the Miami newspapers, and the Castro regime has concluded that the new jet airstrip at Retalhuleu in Guatemala may well be intended for use against Cuba.

Castro's continued xenophobic anti-Americanism is abetted by certain weighty factors. To begin with, as last week's parade emphasized, Cuba now possesses a formidable arsenal of weapons – Czech field and coastal artillery, dozens of Russian-built tanks, and hundreds of thousands of Czechoslovak machine guns for the militia. The regime is further emboldened by its apparent success in weathering the transition from US markets and suppliers to reliance on the Sino-Soviet bloc, Japan, Canada, and Western Europe. Despite occasional shortages and a permanent drying-up of items formerly supplied by the US, stores are well stocked with food and clothing, and rigid controls have kept prices reasonably stable. Spare parts for American automotive equipment and machinery are available through Canadian firms; and gasoline, the Achilles' heel of the Cuban economy, now sells at the old price of 33 cents a gallon and has yet to be rationed. Agricultural production is up, in some cases spectacularly.

Canada is by all accounts willing and eager to do business with Cuba, as recent shipments of automotive parts, sugar-refining machinery, Hereford breeding cattle, newsprint, trucks and tractors make clear. A number of Japanese agricultural experts are helping to spark a large increase in Cuban rice production. Despite the Declaration of San José and the breaking of diplomatic relations by half a dozen Latin American nations, Castro can count on considerable support from labor leaders, leftist-nationalist politicians, and students in these countries; in Havana last week, for example, Venezuelan union officials openly spoke of their plans to dynamite US-owned oil wells around Lake Maracaibo if "Yankee imperialists" dared to attack Cuba. Finally, there is the massive material and moral support of the Soviet Union, Communist China and the Soviet satellites; Foreign Minister Roa was quite correct when he told the UN that "Cuba is not alone." All in all, the Eisenhower legacy in the Caribbean is a crisis likely to prove in its own way as delicate, dangerous and difficult to solve as the secession problem which President Buchanan turned over to his successor a century ago.

Uncertainty in Algeria

President de Gaulle's confidence that at least a 65 percent majority of the French and Algerian people would approve his program for Algeria – provisional autonomy followed by a later referendum on self-determination – has not been fully justified by the 54 percent margin of victory disclosed in the January 8 voting. Even if the final tabulations had shown a solid majority in his favor, however, the success of his plan would have been far from guaranteed. The main reason for this uncertainty is the situation in Algeria itself, where large numbers of people were either unwilling or unable to express their views on the matter.

While French extremists were desperately trying to round up opposition votes, and army officers loyal to de Gaulle were trying to win Moslem support, the FLN was warning its followers that they had better boycott the voting or face severe reprisals. For although it favors the principle of self-determination, the FLN opposes the creation of autonomous Algerian governing bodies on the grounds that these would merely substitute indirect French control for direct French rule, and would provide de Gaulle with a means of avoiding direct negotiations with FLN representatives. By demanding that Moslems boycott the referendum, the FLN was thus denying that de Gaulle has the right to plan unilaterally for Algeria's future, and reaffirming the position that its own "Provisional Government" is the sole "depository of sovereignty" of the Algerians.

The French and Algerian positions thus appear to remain far apart. Nevertheless, there are indications that they may be able to draw closer together in the coming weeks. For one thing, de Gaulle has made it clear that he will regard a favorable vote from the French people as a mandate to try to end the fighting as quickly as possible. And knowing that this can be done only after negotiating with the FLN, he has indicated his desire to reopen talks with the insurgents. Since he doubtless wishes to avoid an abortive meeting such as that which took place in Melun last July, he will probably be prepared to discuss (and to compromise on) the "political" topics which the FLN insists on discussing: precise conditions for the cease-fire and for the conduct of the referendum on self-determination.

Furthermore, although the FLN opposes the provisional autonomy arrangements, its most valuable ally, Habib Bourguiba, has indicated his approval of the scheme. Apparently the Tunisian President feels that it represents the smoothest way of easing the Algerian Government into Moslem hands. By giving public praise to de Gaulle, Bourguiba has regained a tremendous amount of respect in French eyes, and might thus be extremely useful in bringing about a meeting of minds between de Gaulle and the FLN.

Finally, the basic ambitions of the FLN must be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

remembered. Although it could continue fighting indefinitely, this would mean indefinite Communist aid, which would carry with it a deeper commitment to the East than most of its leaders want. Anxious to grip the reins of government, they would therefore probably be willing to compromise somewhat if a face-saving formula can be found. Perhaps an indication that provisional autonomy would be only a temporary arrangement pending the results of the referendum on self-determination, coupled with a willingness on the part of de Gaulle to accept some outside supervision of the referendum (possibly by a group of mutually agreed upon African states), would be enough to get the FLN to the bargaining table. The possibility of a favorable FLN response to such a formula is enhanced with the advent of a new President who has demonstrated sympathy for Algerian independence.

Johnson Presiding

The Democrats in the Senate have spent eight years needling the Republicans (and the country) for their attachment to a Father Image, but they seem to be mesmerized by their own Den Daddy. Only 17 of them dissented from the designation of Lyndon Johnson as presiding officer of the Democratic caucus.

The move by Johnson's successor as Majority Leader, Mike Mansfield, was indeed a denigration of the office to which he had just been elected, as Senator Gore said it was; many will share Senator Gore's surprise that Mr. Mansfield should have proposed it and that Mr. Johnson would accept. Not only, as Senator Morse asserted, is this in contempt of the doctrine of separation of powers. It is just plain miserable public relations for the Vice President, who presumably wants an image other than that of his present one as backroom manipulator but has acted in a manner that will be generally interpreted (Senator Gore was kind enough to say misinterpreted) as a blatant power grab. He has compromised the privacy of the Democratic Senatorial caucus – and therefore its freedom of debate, and therefore its effectiveness. He has established a precedent which could be embarrassing in the case of some future Vice President. Moreover, he has reduced the stature of Mr. Mansfield to something approaching zero, which he may come to regret.

The freshly-fielded Majority Leader did not look too good in the early innings anyway. On the technical but important parliamentary issue of whether to adjourn or recess at the close of the first day (a point which bore on the priority next day of proposals to amend the cloture rule), Mr. Mansfield did not get the right answer until half way through the afternoon. And his powers as a leader have been reduced by the party conference decision that his recommendations for appointments to the steering and policy committees are subject to approval – or disapproval – by the whole body of Senate Democrats.

Landis on Regulation

James M. Landis' report on the administrative agencies is far from a radical document. Certainly he seems to reject the thoroughgoing reforms proposed by Louis J. Hector, the former Civil Aeronautics Board member who resigned a year ago and sent a memorandum to President Eisenhower on what was wrong with the regulatory agencies. Mr. Hector told the President that even the Founding Fathers could not have made the agencies, as presently constituted, effective instruments.

In Mr. Hector's view members of the Civil Aeronautics Board – or Interstate Commerce Commission or Federal Communications Commission or Federal Power Commission – have two irreconcilable jobs. They must be bold planners, laying out the pattern for expansion of a great new industry (aviation) or perhaps devising the means to save a sick old one (railroads). But they must also be cloistered judges, hearing and deciding a fantastic number of applications for routes or rate increases. The result, Mr. Hector argues, is neither job is done well. No board member has time to dream great dreams or make bold plans. But because he has to discuss policy freely with the regulated industry, he is not sufficiently cloistered for a judge. Mr. Hector's solution is to take the policy-making functions away from the regulatory commissions and give it to the Executive Branch, leaving the commissions as quasi-courts to decide individual cases in accord with the policy laid down by Congress and the Executive.

The Landis report, rejecting any such division of functions, says the integrity and independence of the regulatory agencies must be preserved. In fact, it proposes to increase the commissioners' independence by lengthening their terms and increasing their retirement pay. For improvement in the behavior of the agencies Mr. Landis relies heavily on better appointments.

But for all that, there is a substantial area of agreement between the two men. Mr. Landis shares a specific Hector distaste for the habit of having opinions written by staffs of professional rationalizers instead of by individual board members and their personal aides. He finds agency proceedings indescribably slow and costly, and he deplores the practice of trying every case out in full before an examiner and then all over again before the commission itself. (He would, for example, have the Federal Power Commission clear much of its stagnant natural gas rate docket by freeing from regulation all producers under a certain size.) And,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

likewise, a basic Hector proposition, that the agencies do not do enough thinking ahead is accepted in the Landis report. As an example Mr. Landis cites the ICC's inaction in the face of deteriorating railroad passenger service. He makes much of the need for coordinating the policy of such agencies as the ICC and CAB, now working at arm's length in the same field. To do this he would have a White House coordinator for transportation, and one each for communications and energy.

Similarly, Mr. Landis recognizes a need for the President to give inspiration and direction to the work of the regulatory agencies, so deeply infected for so long by dry rot. He says the President has as much responsibility to see that they execute their laws faithfully as he does in agencies technically within the Executive Branch. To help the President he proposes a new White House Office for the Oversight of Regulatory Agencies. He would let the President appoint (and remove) all agency chairmen, and give the chairman more power within the agency.

Mr. Landis and Mr. Hector agree also that the agencies are hamstrung by excessive formalities of procedure. (Is it not absurd that no one can undertake to truck barrels between New York and Jersey City without a permit from the ICC?) Mr. Landis would allow the commissioners to delegate much business which now passes through their hands. And he would consider dropping formal, adversary hearings altogether for a substantial number of agency functions – rate-making, licensing of radio and television broadcasters, approving airline service and pipeline construction.

As a device to carry out these reforms Mr. Landis puts forward an idea suggested at Senate hearings last month by Mr. Hector – a Congressional act giving President-elect Kennedy general power to reorganize government offices, including the regulatory agencies.

It can be argued that the Landis goals are contradictory – that we cannot have agency independence and Presidential leadership at the same time. But he clearly is quite sincere in believing that the ideals are compatible. Twenty-three years ago, in his book *The Administrative Process*, he wrote that if the Executive has a firm policy and the support of the legislature, "the administrative cannot pursue a course of action contradictory to their desires."

Moreover, there is a practical reason for giving the Landis approach a fair trial. Wholesale reform of the kind Mr. Hector envisages would be a major political undertaking, and one for which no one could confidently predict success. With the Landis approach, and with Mr. Landis as his agency overseer, the President may be able to creep up on the obstacles to effective administrative performance without causing alarums. If soft words without the stick of Presidential power do not work, if holdover board members will not carry out Kennedy-Landis reforms, then it will be time for more drastic measures – and their need will have been clearly demonstrated.

S. M. Levitas, 1894–1961

I entered the funeral parlor with James Wechsler, Philip Mosely, and Diana Trilling, passed William Buckley, and sat behind James Burnham, Alfred Kazin and Daniel Bell. All had come to pay their respects to a dead friend, and no better testimony could be found for Sol Levitas' uncanny ability to excite affection in various hearts.

The obituaries, as usual, had the facts but not the human truth. They reported accurately that he was a Jew from Kiev who, during the Revolution, became Vice-Mayor of Vladivostock (of all places!); was a Menshevik delegate to the ill-fated Constituent Assembly; fled Russia in 1922; was executive editor (and, in effect, publisher) of *The New Leader* from 1930 until his death last week; had all those years in season and out been an active opponent of totalitarianism.

On this last, they placed great emphasis. And, indeed, *The New Leader* achieved such a formidable reputation for exposing Communism, especially during the 30's and 40's, that one forgets Sol Levitas was a Socialist – the last Socialist, he would sometimes say wryly, meaning that the tradition which saw Socialism as an ennobling humanism had given way to others with more worldly intentions. It was precisely as a Socialist, a humanist and a democrat that he fought so bitterly against Communism. And there are still some people who have never forgiven him for having on this question been right – for the right reasons.

No obituary can capture the man himself. Sentimental and sophisticated, incredibly generous to the young writer, a representative of what was best in the Russian intelligentsia (I believe he detested Khrushchev as much for speaking Russian badly as for anything else), a superb Yiddish humorist, a bold and ingenious entrepreneur in keeping *The New Leader* financially afloat, a gifted editor in a language not his own – he was distinctly a "figure" and a "character" of a kind whose numbers are thinning out. The Europe that produced the breed is gone; as is the America that once welcomed them.

IRVING KRISTOL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Banana Peels

Two recent and very sharp criticisms of the United States' foreign service and foreign policy, *The Ugly American* and *Listen, Yankee!* are, no doubt, everything their critics have charged them with being – distorted, exaggerated, tendentious, unfair, and so on. But their existence is the hope of this country.

For no political gang, however fat and greasy, can stand up forever against relentless satire and ruthless exposure. No doubt there will be reprisals. The trained seals of the press are already barking in unison against C. Wright Mills, author of *Listen, Yankee!* proving to their own satisfaction that he is a merger of Judas Iscariot, Benedict Arnold and Vidkung Quisling, retaining the worst feature of each. But all the barking cannot unsay what has been said.

Of course what Castro's gangsters are saying about us is to a very large extent fantastically false. But it is not false that they are saying it, and it is not false that a good many Cubans are believing it. Such a situation does not arise without some factual basis, and every American with no axe to grind knows that it exists in this case.

In recent years we have sent to Cuba some honest traders, and many fine technicians whose work has been to the benefit of the island. But we have also been dumping into Cuba some of the worst human garbage spawned in the American gutters – pimps, junkies, gunsels, confidence men, crooked gamblers and plain thieves. And these have been more conspicuous than the honest men.

Oh, no, we didn't crate the animals and ship them down express prepaid. They went under their own power, frequently just one jump ahead of the American police, and they went to Cuba because the Batista regime was content to have them, often welcomed them since they were willing to grease the palms of Batista's understrappers. To that extent, the situation is as much Cuba's fault as ours.

Our real offending was not in exuding the riff-raff, for every big country has its quota of underworld characters whom it is anxious to expel. Our offense was in making common cause with the Batista outfit against the Cuban people. We never meant to do it, for the American people have no taste for affiliation with crooks. We didn't know we were doing it – and there we get down to the real American crime.

That crime is our habit of using the foreign service, especially in what we contemptuously call the Banana Republics, as a rest-house for ignorant, fat-headed political heelers, without the smallest interest in the people of the country to which they were assigned – or, indeed, in any other people except those whom they find useful in advancing their own interest. They are not necessarily dishonest, in the sense that they would steal your watch; but they are incapable of judging accurately such a character as Batista.

But what about the honesty of the American people in sending such types to represent the country in critical areas? There is where the shoe pinches. If the remnants of Al Capone's gang fled to Havana, what they did down there is no more the responsibility of the American people than what they did in Cicero. But for our diplomatic representatives to encourage the Cubans who encourage the gangsters *is* our responsibility.

It is fortunate that these two books appeared close to the time of a change of Administrations, for they could be of great assistance to Mr. Kennedy in fighting off the spoilsmen in the Democratic Party. The habit of using the foreign service as a roost for lame ducks is unfortunately bipartisan; perhaps the Eisenhower Administration carried it to a fantastic extreme, but in times past the Democrats have done far too much of it. So the jolt that the books have administered just as they are taking power again may have a salutary effect. A change of Administrations always means many changes in the foreign service; and here is an opportunity to make those changes for the better.

This is not written in defense of the authors of the two books. One may hope that they will escape lynching at the hands of a mob of enraged politicians, but their fate as individuals is not an issue of high politics. It is the prestige of the United States that counts; for upon that prestige the American standard of living is based to a greater extent than our people realize. Friendly relations with the producers of many material things make the difference between ease and austerity for the average American family. And that is neither a fable nor a joke.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MEANING OF MOVING FORWARD – VII

Higher Education

Three years ago Franklin Murphy, chancellor of the University of Kansas, then chairman of the American Council on Education, asked: "Does the average American family fully understand the fact that indecision and false economy now will actually deny many American sons and daughters any higher educational opportunity at all and that it is probably already too late to avoid some crisis and dilution of quality in higher education?"

Today the word "probably" must be deleted from the last part of this statement. No matter what is done now, the *total* need that will exist by 1970 cannot be met – the need for buildings and facilities, perhaps; the need for teachers, certainly not. College teachers can be trained only by college teachers and it takes time to do it. At this moment there are not in our universities nearly enough teachers qualified to train graduate students (or enough graduate students training to become university teachers who will in time be qualified to train graduate students) to produce teachers for the extra three million young men and women who will be eligible for and at least hoping to get into a college or university in 1970. About 20,000 new college teachers will be needed each year for the next decade. About 10,000 are now taking doctoral degrees each year, of which little more than half enter teaching.

How did all this come to pass? For years, business and government have been paying college graduates higher and higher salaries for the same qualifications, while most colleges and universities were paying teachers less (in real terms) for ever higher qualifications, as course requirements, standards and cost of doctoral degrees rose. College teaching long ago lost out to other professions and businesses as a remunerative occupation. Recently it has been losing out to elementary and secondary school teaching and the skilled trades in many parts of the country. Only the able with an extraordinary sense of vocation or the mediocre among college graduates (in any case too few of either) entered, or, having entered, stayed in college teaching.

For the remedy, we need look no further than the 1957 report of President Eisenhower's Committee on Education beyond the High School. It even has the priorities right:

1. Double faculty salaries;
2. Expand facilities and faculty for graduate study;
3. Expand other educational plant and facilities, but not before or at the expense of 1 and 2.

To pay for this, the Committee estimated that total expenditure on higher education would have to rise by $4.6 billion from the $2.4 billion spent in 1953-54 to about $7 billion in 1970. (A later estimate by R. D. Calkins, president of the Brookings Institution, puts the increase at $6.8 billion, expenditure rising from $4.3 billion in 1957-58 to $11.1 billion in 1970.) For those who are frightened by these figures, the Committee pointed out that such an expenditure in 1970 would come to about $34 per person, whereas, at the time of its report, the American people were spending about half that amount per person on parimutuel betting ($15.77) and more than twice that much for tobacco and alcohol ($85), recreation ($79) and cars ($87).

Unfortunately, the Committee's report was as weak on means as it was strong on objectives. It didn't say how the money was to be raised, except to urge everybody concerned – boards of trustees, alumni, state and municipal governments, philanthropists, foundations and business corporations – to greater efforts.

On Dr. Calkins' figures, assuming reasonable student tuition increases and that private giving doubles (most unlikely), $4 billion in addition to the present $2.3 billion a year would have to come from public funds. On the basis of past performance, it is unrealistic to think that state and municipal tax authorities will raise from local taxation anything like this sum and in the right places at the right time. Nor is it desirable that they should. If there are to be large-scale subventions to all colleges and universites from public funds they should come from the federal government so that the present pattern of publicly and privately controlled institutions is preserved.

But if the bulk of the new funds for higher education in the next 10 years is to come from the federal government, much fresh, hard thinking has to be done.

In the first place, Congress must rid itself of the idea that many of the present federal programs for colleges and universities, valuable though they are for the nation, constitute "aid to higher education." They are more properly described as "aid *from* higher education." For instance, the government has been getting its ROTC facilities from the institution without charge. For science research projects, the government's 15 percent contribution to overhead does not begin to cover the administrative and other indirect costs of these programs. Nothing is provided to the institutions for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

handling the administration and heavy paper work of federal loans to students. Further, the conduct of institutes, research and other special services for the government is manageable only for those institutions that are well off for staff and facilities. It is a liability to those with too few teachers, heavy teaching loads, and insufficient room and facilities to accommodate their own students and faculties. Yet for good public relations, many such schools stagger through their quota of teacher training and "refresher" institutes.

Second, so long as the federal government confines itself to a piecemeal approach to aid, it is impossible for the institutions to meet their own needs in an orderly way according to their own priorities. For instance, the only help the federal government has given so far for new buildings is the low-interest loans for so-called "self-liquidating" projects, such as dormitories and student unions. But some institutions may need laboratories and libraries, or a first-class man in physics, or even faculty housing, more than they need student dorms and lounges. Yet, if they are to get any federal help at all, they have to take it in the only form Congress has so far been prepared to give it. Here is a certainly unintended government "interference" in academic affairs which could be avoided if the scope of assistance were broadened.

Third, while federal loans and matching grants are good devices for spurring local authorities with potential resources of their own to help themselves, they are pointless in the present situation. How are the institutions to raise funds to make interest, loan, and matching payments, except from such sources as private giving, other public funds, and student fees, already known to be inadequate to the need? Besides, loans and matching grants help only the better off institutions: those with the big properties to mortgage and ready money for matching grants, those already favored by every present source of funds – rich alumni and rich taxpayers; philanthropists, foundations and corporations who want the prestige of giving to established "name" schools; even the federal government itself in granting research funds and contracts. It is the underfinanced, the underequipped, the undermanned institutions that the federal government must particularly concern itself with, and not out of philanthropy, but as a matter of hard-headed economy. By strengthening, expanding, and nurturing these schools now, the country can provide most economically for thousands of additional students in the future. If by false economy the marginal schools are allowed to go under now in the competition for teachers, facilities and funds, governments will only be driven, by a public enraged that there are no places for their sons and daughters in college, to more expensive "crash" programs of expansion.

How, then, can the colleges and universities best be helped by the federal government? Again, one of President Eisenhower's committees, his Science Advisory Committee, has the answer. In its report to the President two months ago, the Committee noted that by confining aid to scientific *research*, the federal government has caused colleges and universities to overstress research to the disadvantage of scientific *teaching* and the training of scientists. It therefore recommended that: "The government move beyond its past policy of providing contracts and grants for specific research projects and make available 'institutional' grants which the universities could use to improve their scientific faculties and facilities."

The only way to ensure that colleges and universities in America not only hold their own but improve in quality, as student enrollments rise, is to go to a system of institutional grants in which, within broad limits, the institutions themselves determine the priority of their needs and order of development. It would be unwise to adopt the British-type "open end" or unconditional grant. Some presidents and boards of trustees waste institutional funds on all manner of pet projects (usually described as "community service") that have nothing to do with the education of their students or the advancement of learning and research. But the conditions for federal institutional grants should be broad ones: such as, that faculty salaries and teaching loads, the faculty-student ratio, the ratio of certain plant and equipment (especially libraries and laboratories) to students must meet certain prescribed standards before expenditure on other lines of development is given approval.

The administration of grants could well be handled by regional, university and college grants committees, set up jointly by the universities and colleges (possibly through their regional accrediting associations) and by the federal government, with representation from both. Grants should be staged over a period of several years. The initial allocations to an institution should be based on a formula taking into account institutional size, programs, and perhaps existing financial resources. These allocations should be revised in later years in the light of development plans covering several years which each institution would be asked to submit. These should be reviewed by the grants committee *only* for compliance with the broad conditions mentioned above. The committees would, however, have discretion whether to grant funds to institutions newly applying for accreditation or to those whose accreditation is in doubt. Yearly progress reports and inspections by the committees or their representatives would be required before renewal of grants from year to year.

With help of this kind, the colleges and universities could begin to think less of catching up and more of "moving forward."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A PROPOSAL TO REPLACE THE INCOME TAX

In considering means of financing the national journey toward the New Frontier the President-elect confronts a variety of proposals for plugging tax loopholes. But piecemeal tax reform, as The New Republic *observed last week, would give each affected interest occasion to complain that it was being singled out for discriminatory treatment. In this article Washington tax lawyer Matthew J. Kust argues that politics and equity together point to the need for fundamental reform. Replacing the income tax by a new system of taxation based on personal expenditures would in his view stimulate economic growth and yield at least $12.5 billion more annually in revenues. Mr. Kust was an associate in the tax department of Sullivan and Cromwell. He conducted a three-year study of the impact of US tax laws on foreign economic policy as a member of the International Tax Program at Harvard Law School and has contributed analyses of tax problems to* The Tax Executive, Taxes *and* The Journal of Taxation.

Tax Reform for the Sixties

by Matthew J. Kust

More and more students of economic policy are beginning to suspect that something is fundamentally wrong with our present national tax system. When Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee held hearings in late 1959 on the possibilities of tax reform, the dominant note, throughout some 2,363 pages of comment in 183 separate expert papers, was that the personal income tax had become inequitable and ineffective.

Startling facts were brought forth: For example, how many realize that only 43 percent of the total of our personal income is subject to the income tax! Joseph Pechman in his study for the Committee for Economic Development shows that only $149 billion out of a possible $308 billion of personal income was taxable in 1957. Most of the difference is excluded, exempt, offset by deductions or unreported for income tax purposes.

It can be demonstrated that under the present income tax one man, in leisure and luxury, can enjoy an income of $100,000 derived from such sources as investment in municipal bonds or oil leases completely or relatively free of income tax, while a college classmate who has worked hard and sacrificed long years to become chief executive officer of a corporation pays a tax in excess of $50,000 on his $100,000 salary. (To be sure, the latter is not to be pitied, for when he reaches his high position in business he enjoys tax-privileged stock options, pensions and entertainment allowances.) Inequities also exist at lower income levels. A family owning a house pays less tax on the same income than one which rents. Many "transfer payments" (*e.g.* social security benefits, veterans pensions, military retirement, etc.) are exempt. In the final analysis it is the middle income man having little or no source of income except his salary, wages or other earnings from personal services, who bears the brunt of the tax burden.

Moreover, it seems difficult if not impossible to increase revenues for urgent national and international purposes because of the narrow tax base. Soaking the rich still more is futile, for persons in these brackets can utilize the numerous exemptions and preferences to avoid the high rates. And increasing the rates on the already hard-hit middle income groups is not only a political near-impossibility but could also lead to more widespread tax evasion. The system has a built-in rigidity which is proving an obstacle to the attainment of our new national and international objectives.

Most of the reforms offered the Ways and Means Committee advocated steps to eliminate various tax exemptions, exclusions, deductions and preferences. But a sense of hopelessness that anything significant will be accomplished in the coming years permeated the hearings, primarily because each exclusion, each deduction, each preference, has strong defenders who have a vested interest in the particular tax advantage. Many of the papers anticipated possible assaults on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

present system and sought to justify existing exemptions and preferences. There are, as we know, powerful lobbies ready to use every means at their disposal to defeat any measure in Congress detrimental to their special interest. Oil and gas lobbies, for example, have already spent and will spend millions more to prevent elimination of the 27.5 percent depletion allowance. Every mayor in the country will oppose elimination of the exemption from tax of a municipal bond interest. Universities, foundations and religious organizations will defend the charitable deduction. And so on.

The Case for an Expenditure Tax

Strangely enough, no one has suggested or cast about for a completely alternative method of national taxation of individuals. Everyone appears wedded to the personal income tax as if it were the only or most advanced method of taxation available. This is not necessarily true, nor has it been so historically.

More than 100 years ago when the British first adopted the income tax, John Stuart Mill advocated the principle that taxation should be based upon personal *expenditure* instead of personal *income*. Mills thought, as did Hobbes before him, that a man's ability to pay tax depended upon his total financial means, however derived, and not only on his annual personal income. It was, therefore, more just to tax a man according to how much he consumed rather than how much he earned. The income principle won out largely because it was considered simpler and the world has since become habituated to it. The principle of income taxation was soon extended to other parts of the British Empire. India adopted it on a permanent basis in 1886. In due time we put our national tax system on this basis in 1913. But the idea of an expenditure tax continued to be advocated by such leading economists as Marshall, Pigou and Irving Fisher – particularly Fisher who developed its practical applicability. Most recently the case for an expenditure tax has been put forth persuasively by Nicholas Kaldor of Cambridge University in a treatise published in 1955.

The expenditure tax would change the tax base from the totality of an individual's personal income to the totality of his personal expenditures. This distinguishes it immediately from excise, sales and other forms of commodity taxation which are based on sales transactions. Commodity taxes bear no relation to the total expenditures of an individual and permit little or no progression in rates.

The chief hesitation about the expenditure tax has concerned its alleged complexity of administration. The thought immediately arises that an individual would be required to keep detailed records of his personal expenditures. But this would not be necessary. Irving Fisher devised a simple method of arriving at an individual's total personal expenditures indirectly, which has been adopted by Kaldor, by following the pattern of financial statements used by, let us say, corporations.

This is how it would work. Each individual would be required to report his liquid assets at the beginning of the taxable year, add to it his net receipts in money or money's worth during the year and subtract from that sum his liquid assets at the end of the year. The difference would be his personal expenditures during the year on which he would be taxed at progressive rates.

The liquid assets reported on the tax return would consist primarily of bank balances and cash on hand. Perhaps the beginning and closing balance could also include an individual's investments which would in effect require a net worth statement. This would enable the Internal Revenue Service to maintain an easier check on the reporting of dividends and interest.

Net receipts in money or money's worth would consist of what one has received during the year from wages, salaries and other professional or business drawing accounts; rent, royalties, interest and dividends; prizes, winnings, gifts and bequests; money borrowed and received in repayment of loans; proceeds of sales of investments and similar receipts *less* investments, loans to others, and repayments of debt. Owner occupied houses and apartments would be considered investments. In the majority of cases, however, this would simply entail a statement of an individual's annual wages or salary as is presently required by the personal income tax.

Two additional steps would have to be taken to arrive at taxable personal expenditure. Exemptions would probably, though not necessarily, have to be allowed for some minimal personal and family expenditures similar to the personal and dependent exemptions allowed under the present income tax. In addition allowance might be made for such outlays as unusual medical expenses and other personal misfortunes, but these should be kept to a minimum. Such personal expenditure exemptions would be deducted before arriving at taxable personal expenditures. The other step would permit the spreading over several years of cash expenditures on durable goods, such as automobiles, household appliances, furniture, etc. The cost of a car, for example, would be included to the extent of one-third in the year of purchase and one-third in each of the two successive years. Durable goods purchased by installments would be accounted for automatically in the return in the amount of the installments paid during the taxable year.

The above outline of the expenditure tax calls for a rather simple and uncomplicated tax return. Three successive *pro forma* expenditure tax returns are shown on page 14. To repeat, the average taxpayer would merely

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

provide a statement of his bank balance at the beginning of the year, plus his wages or salary earned during the year, less his bank balance at the end of the year. At the same time the person of above average means would probably find the expenditure tax return much simpler than today's personal income tax return with its multitude of schedules for capital gains, dividends credit, deductible expenses, and all the rest.

If one can dismiss doubts about the complexity of administering an expenditure tax, which, as we have seen, is at least as simple as the present income tax, what, then, would be the advantage of shifting from a base of personal incomes to personal expenditures?

First and foremost, it would give us a facile means of eliminating present inequities and ineffectiveness. Instead of launching a desperate assault on each citadel of privilege and benefit in the present system, we would start with a fresh tax base and hold the line against erosion by those seeking tax advantages. Such an approach would shift the political advantage to the Administration and Congress, for the job of tax reform would not be directed against any particular group or groups with tax advantages to protect. It would be easier to defend a new tax base against any and all groups seeking to establish tax advantages than it would be to deprive them of advantages already enjoyed in the present system. In one fell swoop, we would eliminate, among others, the following problems in tax reform which seem to defy satisfactory solutions under the present income tax system:

1. Capital gains treatment;
2. Percentage depletion;
3. Tax exempt interest;
4. Exemption of personal income earned abroad;
5. Stock options and deferred compensation;
6. The numerous deductions for interest, taxes, charitable contributions and others which give a tax advantage to many individuals;
7. Non-reporting of dividend and interest income;
8. Escape from tax of unrealized capital gains of a decedent;
9. Inequity of annual income tax for persons with fluctuating or irregular incomes;
10. Transfer payment exemptions.

In addition to providing a simple means of purging the national tax system of its present inequities and complexities, which is an end in itself, the expenditure tax would, I believe, serve better our national and international objectives in the coming decades. Our overriding objective internationally is to frustrate Communist dominance of the world. This demands a reordering of our present allocation of resources from private consumption to public consumption, which is also required for its own sake, as Galbraith has argued, if we are to improve our domestic life.

In recent years it has become clear that the Communist challenge is primarily economic and political and only secondarily military. The Communist economic challenge is twofold. First, the Communists have set out to demonstrate that their system can achieve and sustain a greater rate of economic growth than ours, which by itself is calculated to win converts, particularly in the underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In addition, this potential attractive power is augmented by liberal aid and trade offers.

It is now common knowledge that Russia's rate of economic growth is presently 6 percent to our 3 percent per annum and that China's rate of growth is three times that of India. In order to attain this rate of growth, the Russian economy generates savings and investments of 25 percent of its annual production. The best our economy was able to achieve during the postwar period of unprecedented prosperity was about 15 percent. It is apparent we need substantially more savings and investment to match Russia's growth and additional revenues for increased foreign aid.

The Case Against an Expenditure Tax

A primary difference between an income tax and an expenditure tax is that *the latter exempts savings from tax.* It is, therefore, *ipso facto,* a preferable tax for the promotion of savings and investment which is a primary essential for upgrading our rate of growth.

But while an expenditure tax will promote savings more effectively, many, particularly Keynesian economists, may object to the tax on this very ground – that a tax designed to stimulate savings and curtail consumption, particularly the latter, will slow economic growth and bring on a depression. Professor Harold M. Groves in his outline of a national tax policy for the postwar period listed the "maintenance of an adequate consumer's market" as a most important consideration. But Professor Groves did not specify that the consumption must be private. Consumption of the goods produced by a faster growing economy can be public as well as private. And it is, perhaps, through public consumption and investment made possible by a flexible national tax system that we can more effectively sustain not only greater growth, but that type of growth which is now essential to the national interest.

A tax that promotes savings may be objectionable on grounds that it encourages concentration of economic power in the hands of individuals. This can be prevented by an effective estate tax permitting enough, but only enough, devolution of an individual's accumulated savings to provide for the needs of the widow and children. An attractive feature of the expenditure tax is that, unlike our present income tax, it does not permit tax-free consumption of inherited wealth. Thus for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sample Returns of Expenditure Tax

The following sample returns illustrate how the Expenditure Tax would operate over a three-year period in the typical case of a taxpayer on a salary with a wife and two children. Prior to 1960 the family saved for a down payment on a house and purchase of a new car. In 1960 they purchased a $20,000 house for which they borrowed $10,000. The car was purchased for cash. In 1962 the family received a $5,000 bequest from a grandmother and decided to spend part of it on a trip to Europe.

EXPENDITURE TAX RETURN—1960

1. *Liquid Assets (Bank Balances, Cash, etc.)* January 1, 1960	
(a) Bank A	$ 5,000
(b) Savings & Loan Association	10,000
2. *Receipts (Money or Money's Worth)*	
(a) *Wages, Salaries, Business Drawings/Profits*	
1. ABC Corporation – Salary	10,000
(b) *Interest, Dividends, Royalties, Rent, etc.*	
1. Savings & Loan Association	400
(c) *Bequests, Gifts, Prizes, etc.*	—
(d) *Sales of Investments*	—
(e) *Money Borrowed, Repayments, etc.*	
1. Acme Life Insurance Co. – First Mtg.	10,000
(f) *Other Receipts*	—
(Total Items (1) and (2))	$35,400
(LESS)	
3. *Investments*	
(a) Purchase of Home	$20,000
4. *Liquid Assets*, December 31, 1960	
(a) Bank A	3,000
(Total Items (3) and (4))	$23,000
5. *Gross Expenditures* (Items (1) and (2) minus (3) and (4)	$12,400
(LESS)	
6. *Personal/Family Exemption*	$ 2,400
7. *Deferral of Expenditures*	
(a) Purchase Automobile @ $3,000	2,000
(ADD)	
8. *Deferred Expenditure from Prior Year*	—
9. *Taxable Expenditure* (Items (5) minus (6) and (7) plus (8)	$ 8,000

EXPENDITURE TAX RETURN—1961

1. *Liquid Assets (Bank Balances, Cash, etc.)* January 1, 1961	
(a) Bank A	$ 3,000
2. *Receipts (Money or Money's Worth)*	
(a) *Wages, Salaries, Business Drawings/Profits*	
1. ABC Corporation	10,000
(b) *Interest, Dividends, Royalties, Rent, etc.*	—
(c) *Bequests, Gifts, Prizes, etc.*	—
(d) *Sales of Investments*	—
(e) *Money Borrowed, Repayments, etc.*	—
(f) *Other Receipts*	
1. Rental Value of House	1,000
(Total Items (1) and (2))	$14,000
(LESS)	
3. *Debt Payment*	
(a) First Mortgage on House	$1,000
4. *Liquid Assets*, December 31, 1961	
(a) Bank A	2,000
(b) Savings & Loan Association	2,000
(Total Items (3) and (4))	$5,000
5. *Gross Expenditures* (Items (1) and (2) minus (3) and (4))	$9,000
(LESS)	
6. *Personal/Family Exemption*	$2,400
7. *Deferral of Expenditure*	—
(ADD)	
8. *Deferred Expenditure From Prior Years*	
(a) One-third cost automobile bought 1960	1,000
9. *Taxable Expenditure* (Items (5) minus (6) plus (8))	$7,600

EXPENDITURE TAX RETURN—1962

1. *Liquid Assets*, January 1, 1962	
(a) Bank A	$2,000
(b) Savings & Loan Association	2,000
2. *Receipts (Money or Money's Worth)*	
(a) *Wages, Salaries, Business Drawings/Profits*	
1. ABC Corporation	10,000
(b) *Interest, Dividends, Royalties, Rent, etc.*	
1. Savings & Loan Association	80
(c) *Bequests, Gifts, Prizes, etc.*	
1. Bequest from Grandmother	5,000
(d) *Sales of Investments*	—
(e) *Money Borrowed, etc.*	—
(f) *Other Receipts*	
1. Rental Value of House	1,000
(Total Items (1) and (2))	$20,080
(LESS)	
3. *Debt Payment*	
(a) First Mortgage on House	$1,000
4. *Liquid Assets*, December 31, 1962	
(a) Bank A	2,000
(b) Savings & Loan Association	5,000
	$8,000
5. *Gross Expenditures* (Items (1) and (2) minus (3) and (4))	$12,080
(LESS)	
6. *Personal/Family Exemption*	$ 2,400
7. *Deferral of Expenditure*	—
(ADD)	
8. *Deferred Expenditure Prior Years* (Auto)	1,000
9. *Taxable Expenditure* (Items (5) minus (6) plus (8))	$10,680

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this purpose no precise stricture on the amount of the accumulated savings an individual should be permitted to pass on to his heirs is required as the only amount that would escape taxation in their hands is the amount that is invested by them. The role of the estate tax then in an effective federal tax system should be to prevent any undue concentration of economic power because of exemption of savings from the expenditure tax.

This brings us to the problem of reallocating more of our resources to public investment. Capital investment is only part of the solution for stimulating greater economic growth. It depends equally on scientific and technological development through improved education and research. Only the national government can effectively stimulate such improvement. Similarly, good roads, streets and parking facilities are as essential to the enjoyment of the automobile as the automobile itself; these typify the broad expansion of public facilities now so urgently needed if the American standard of living is to be advanced along rational lines.

There is no better means available to a democratic society than the tax power for a basic reallocation of resources, but this is not possible under the present personal income tax with its eroded and narrow base of less than $150 billion. A tax predicated on personal expenditures would be far more effective for this purpose. Personal consumption expenditures for 1957 were $285 billion. After making proper adjustments and allowances for personal exemptions such as those existing under the personal income tax our expenditure tax base would be approximately $200 billion, or some $50 billion more than the personal income tax base for 1957. Under the existing rate structure, this additional tax base would yield about $12.5 billion more a year.

The Administration and Congress would through an expenditure tax be able to devote this extra $12.5 billion to better defense, more foreign aid, expanded and improved education, scientific development and other desirable public expenditures. If at any time this level of additional expenditures is not deemed necessary, then the rates could be reduced.

The Corporate Income Tax

In theory an expenditure tax calls for the abolition of a tax on corporations, and on this point many will hesitate since the corporate income tax has become our second most important source of revenue, yielding in excess of $20 billion per year. Yet there are powerful arguments in favor of substantial reduction, at least, if not complete abolition of the tax on corporations. Three-fourths of our capital investment is made by corporations. Corporations are the primary institution in a modern industrial society for channeling production into capital investment. The recent Colwyn report on taxation in Great Britain recognized that enabling corporations to save and invest promotes these functions at their most effective and strategic points.

Moreover, there is considerable controversy among economists whether the corporate income tax is absorbed or passed on to consumers. Perhaps there can be no clear answer; it probably depends upon the state of the economy at any particular time, that is, whether it is a time of shortage or surplus of goods.

But stimulating savings is one thing. Equally important is the allocation of these savings into desirable investment. Many would hesitate to stimulate more savings in the hands of corporations at this time on the grounds that there is no great need for expanding productive facilities for private consumption. (There is no urgent need, for example, for additional car production capacity.) Thus it may be more important to reorient consumption and investment patterns through public expenditures while overcapacity in the private sector persists, before stimulating additional savings in the private corporate sector.

In the long run, we should recognize that taxing corporations is merely a convenient, effective way of collecting revenue from the individuals involved – employees, stockholders and consumers – on whom the ultimate incidence of the tax rests. Since it is probably the consumer who bears the brunt of it, many of the problems created by the corporate income tax could be avoided by substituting a general excise tax of equivalent yield with the end in view that it be passed on in the price of goods and services. This would be another means of placing the national tax system on a personal expenditure basis without losing the effectiveness of utilizing the corporation as a collecting agency.

Even if the arguments in favor of an expenditure tax are overwhelming, prudent men might hesitate because of lack of experience with its operation and administration elsewhere. India has adopted an expenditure tax, but only in the nature of a super tax and not in substitution for a personal income tax. The tax was enacted only in 1957 so India has not yet had sufficient experience with it to provide useful precedents. Ceylon has enacted its expenditure tax law only recently.

Caution would therefore seem in order when making the transition to the new tax. Consideration should be given to introducing the expenditure tax while retaining the present withholding and advance payment taxes on personal incomes. Such withholding and advance payment of tax would be credited against the expenditure tax. About 87 percent of personal income tax at present is collected in the 20 percent bracket. Retention of the withholding and advance payment of tax on personal incomes would militate against any serious setback in revenue collection in a changeover from a personal income to a personal expenditure tax. In fact,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such withholding and advance payment of tax should be retained as a feature of the expenditure tax as well.

Who would most strongly oppose an expenditure tax? First, those whose tax liability or indirect benefits will be adversely affected. Second, academicians, tax economists, accountants, lawyers and others having a vested interest in the knowledge of or possessing inertial attachment to the personal income tax. Among these there will be those who sincerely doubt that the expenditure tax is better than an income tax. This will be particularly true of dedicated Keynesians who will fear the impact of the tax on personal consumption. Both groups can, of course, muster formidable political opposition to such basic reform.

How Would the Burden Shift?

Higher income taxpayers would be affected variously by an expenditure tax. Since generally they have relatively larger deductions and enjoy most of the capital gains, percentage depletion allowance, exempt interest, gifts and inheritances and other favored income, elimination of existing exemptions, deductions and preferences would be a loss. But expenditure tax liability would be imposed only if they *consume* the income. These taxpayers save and invest, by and large, and to that extent would be favored by the new tax. The spendthrifts in this group – speculators living high on quick killings in the market – would suffer higher tax but those who save and invest might be better off. It is altogether possible under the expenditure tax for an individual to have an income of $1 million but spend only $5,000 to live, thereby paying little or no tax. But this is only possible if he saves and invests $995,000. In general, however, the advantage to high bracket taxpayers of excluding savings from tax would not offset the loss of the present tax advantages.

The middle income taxpayer would undoubtedly fare better. For him the tax base would hardly change, but if he saves a larger part of his income than is represented by presently allowable deductions his tax liability would decrease.

Many lower bracket taxpayers, particularly those of retirement age, would have their tax liability increased primarily because social security payments, retirement income and various fringe benefits are presently excluded from tax. However, one should recognize that those dependent entirely on such income would not be affected by the change. And with all taxpayers having been placed on the same level, the rate reduction made possible by the new tax could serve to alleviate any resulting hardship on others.

The impact of the expenditure tax by income groups is, therefore, very diffused. Generally speaking, it appears that the major impact of the expenditure tax would be felt by individuals with high incomes and lower bracket taxpayers enjoying the so-called "transfer payments" income now exempt from tax. This result, however, is not properly attributable to the operation of the expenditure tax as such but is due primarily to broadening the tax base. This impact could, of course, be moderated by restructuring the rate progression, *i.e.*, by starting lower and ending lower. A study of consumption expenditures and savings by income brackets over the full range of incomes should be undertaken in order to determine the impact of an expenditure tax under a given rate structure. Such a study for incomes above $10,000 does not now exist.

The greatest political opposition would come, quite obviously, not from individual taxpayers of any bracket but from organized economic and social groups which are indirect beneficiaries of the existing tax preferences. Thus the petroleum industry will object because of the competitive advantages it enjoys in the money market as a consequence of percentage depletion. The powerful cooperatives would lose their present advantage over corporations. Religious, educational and charitable organizations will fight for their stake in the present charitable deduction. Mayors and governors will object to the elimination of tax exempt interest. Savings and loan associations will oppose the loss of deduction for interest on home mortgages. There will perhaps be others now enjoying indirect benefits under the present tax system who will object to the proposed expenditure tax. However, strong as all of this opposition would be, it is more likely that an across-the-board assault striking equitably at all interests would be politically more feasible than a piecemeal approach.

In sum, the average individual taxpayer living on his wages or salary will benefit directly or indirectly from the new tax. And this is to say, the average voter. His tax base will remain substantially unchanged. If the additional yield made possible is utilized to reduce rates he benefits; if it is used instead for public purposes he benefits indirectly without any increased tax. By the same token, the country benefits.

It should be noted before concluding that a "spending tax" based on personal expenditures was proposed as a super tax during the war in 1942 to raise additional war revenues. It received a hostile reaction from the Senate Finance Committee and was given short shrift without any sympathetic consideration. But in 1942 Congress was not interested in tax reform, seeking instead a simple measure to raise additional revenues on a temporary basis to finance the war. It chose, consequently, the Victory Tax – a surcharge on the income tax. The situation today is different. It is difficult to believe that Congress would not be willing to listen sympathetically to any proposal for tax reform which would improve our chances of survival.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Creature in Ciudad Trujillo

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

The inner story of Trujillo's tyranny has been chiselled into baroque sculpture by the well-known Puerto Rican writer Enrique Laguerre. *The Labyrinth*, written in Spanish and translated last year in France, where it received wide audience, has now arrived for the American public. In the year when 250,000 additional tons of sugar have been requisitioned as an extra dividend for the Trujillo administration by the United States Congress in direct contravention of its commitment to the Organization of American States, it is pertinent to read of the monster America created and continues to subsidize.

The Labyrinth
by Enrique Laguerre
translated by William Rose
(Las Americas; $3.50)

The Labyrinth is a novel written on several levels. For the reader ignorant of the facts underlying the theme, it tells the story of a poor but industrious Puerto Rican who, having attained a law degree in New York City after eight years of toil, stumbles on the opportunity to enter the services of a Caribbean dictator. As a decent but ordinary man, he must hide his eyes to the terror of reality in order to succeed. But he is trapped in the labyrinth of lust – the lust for power and money – and lost in the labyrinth, he negates his dignity in slow corroding stages until, at the edge of spiritual degradation, he asserts his humanity in a futile attempt to assassinate the dictator.

The novel is also a *roman à clef*, mixing two murders ordered by Trujillo in New York City with the actual personages involved. The story weaves together the facts of the shooting in 1935 of Dr. Angel Morales, a former candidate for vice-president of the Dominican Republic, and that of the journalist Andrés Requena in 1952. One of the main characters in the novel, Louis Jaramillo, is indeed Luis ("Chichi") Rubirosa, of the old and aristocratic Dominican Rubirosa family, who was likewise liquidated – another "suicide" in the doublespeak of Trujilloland – by the tyrant when facts indicated his involvement. And Jacinto Martínez in the novel is Dr. Jesús de Galíndez, depicted in most unflattering terms by the author as a sycophant and toady of Trujillo before falling from favor: Galíndez was also murdered only five years ago. Many of the other characters in the story are clearly limned from reality for those closely familiar with the internal Dominican scene.

But, in the larger sense, *The Labyrinth* is a symbolic study of the effects of power, a living illustration of Lord Acton's phrase that power corrupts and absolute power absolutely. Porfirio Uribe, the protagonist, is doomed because he accepts this set of values in order to succeed in the world; and, accepting, he in effect perpetuates them. Like Albert Camus' *The Stranger* or a kind of Kafkian Latin American, Porfirio Uribe drifts from event to event, Everyman wanting to live a decent life and not get trapped, but inevitably and inexorably sucked deeper into the labyrinth where power feeds on its victims. Porfirio Uribe is lost because he will accept anything rather than poverty. And the author, through this symbolism based on life in the Dominican Republic under Trujillo, is telling us that anyone who seeks power and property more than self-respect is doomed because, from the first compromise with one's integrity, the rest of the decline into the labyrinth is foretold.

In this sense again, the Leader (Trujillo) is portrayed almost like Milton's Satan, making the choice between good and evil so absolute, so colossal, that a certain spiritual magnificence is given to the conflict. And the "decent" man and the "ordinary" man are thrice doomed: not only the bohemian and the person contemptuous of death are capable of redemption. The novel is in reality a mediaeval Passion Play dressed up for the 20th Century. And here lies both its strength and weakness: strength in that the moral issues are presented with absolute clarity; and weakness in that each person operates in a subjective pattern isolated from the economic and societal fabric. To kill the Leader becomes the all-consuming passion: "... He's a monster on the loose and very probably when he's eliminated the tyranny will cease." This simple judgment is the problem of evaluating on moral terms separate from a broader social philosophy. Many a former follower of Fidel Castro is cogitating this dilemma today in bruised silence.

From the point of view of literature above and beyond the claims of moral fervor, Enrique Laguerre hurts his novel by excessive use of symbols, and especially references to Greek mythology. The model, as the name indicates, is the myth of Theseus' descent into the winding labyrinth in order to kill the monster, which he does with the aid of Ariadne's thread as a guide. Trujillo or the monster cannot be reached because Ariadne, the symbol of love, no longer guides man today. It is lust for power and possession that has replaced love, we are told by the author, and that is why the monster cannot be killed.

This is sound symbolism, but it can

"HAVE YOU BEEN *wondering what happened to Herbert L. Matthews, maximum U. S. booster of Fidel Castro, 1957-1959? Well, one of the things that happened to Mr. Matthews is that he was appointed a Chubb Fellow of Timothy Dwight College, Yale, where he informed the Yale community that the Castro government is not Communist. The line, in a word, is the same. It is a line which the N. Y. Times finally decided, in mid-'59, was unfit to print.*"

From the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. Write to Dept. R-7, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y., for free copy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be carried to extreme. An important character, for example, spends more time speaking in such hyperbole than discussing a practical method of armed assault, switching back and forth from Theseus to Orpheus in obvious allusion to a descent into the underworld. And the second most protean personality in the novel imagines himself Bellerophon, attempting to reach the doors of Olympus; *i.e.* attaining highest rank under Trujillo, eventually to displace him. Such heavy symbolism tends to destroy the story-telling aspect of the novel.

The Labyrinth, more than statistics in a history book or the monotonous records of political purging, gives a graphic picture of how it is at top when government by law is replaced by tyranny, arbitrary acts based on the will of one person with supreme power. To lesser or greater degree, this is life under the Condottieri Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini (whom Trujillo most closely resembles), Nero or Tiberius, Stalin or Mao . . . even Elizabeth of England. The labyrinth is made by lust of power.

The President's Authority

by Helen Fuller

During the holidays at Palm Beach, between appointing his Cabinet, golfing, and shooing Caroline away from patio press conferences, Mr. Kennedy was reading this book and marking passages to remember, according to press reports. Under the circumstances it undoubtedly made good seaside reading. The author's credentials are in order – age 40, Harvard doctorate, experience in government, and now Government Professor at Columbia. (Lately he has been studying the problem of staffing the White House at Mr. Kennedy's invitation.) And the two examples of how-not - to - exercise - the - Presidential - power - of - choice Professor Neustadt chose to illustrate his theories must be of more than passing interest to one who is about to be stood up against the same wall.

Presidential Power
by Richard E. Neustadt
(Wiley; $5.95)

In exploring "Matters of Choice" for a President, Neustadt reconstructs in detail the stories of Eisenhower's capitulation to George Humphrey and Truman's frustrations in Korea. In both instances, the President of the United States "strode face forward to a corner" by neglecting to use his personal power, according to Mr. Neustadt. Eisenhower listened to Humphrey's urgent demand for budget cutting and Truman heeded the military too long in setting his war aims in Korea:

> "What Eisenhower saw around his Cabinet table in January 1957 was gloom upon the faces of the men he most respected in the spheres of economics and finance and *party* politics. The choice before him featured fiscal policy; accordingly he took those spheres of expertise as relevant and worried as he watched the experts worrying. What Truman heard in late September and the first weeks of October 1950 was a confident discounting of the military diplomatic dangers in Korea. The choices then before him wore the guise of military orders backed by diplomatic action; expertise in these two spheres he took to be controlling, and he acted as his experts recommended.
> "In both these instances the net result was a neglect of the one sphere of expertise where 'experts' were laymen: the sphere of personal power for the President himself . . . The lesson of these cases is that when it comes to power nobody is expert but the President; if he too acts a layman, it goes hard with him."

Indications are that Kennedy already suspected this to be true. But my guess is that this section was one he marked for future reference.

Mr. Neustadt's general purpose in this book is to explore "the classic problem of the man on top in any political system: how to be on top in fact as well as name." He is interested not in tactics but in the personal influence of the man in the White House – "what is its nature and what are its sources?"

A President under our system rarely gets results by merely giving orders. During the 1952 campaign, Mr. Neustadt (who was on the White House staff at that time) recalls, "President Truman used to contemplate the problems of the General-become-President should Eisenhower win the election. 'He'll sit here,' Truman would remark (tapping his desk for emphasis), 'and he'll say "Do this! Do that!" *And nothing will happen.* Poor Ike – it won't be a bit like the Army. He'll find it very frustrating'."

Rather than by command a successful President exerts power through persuasion. And his power to persuade, Neustadt argues, derives in large part from the President's "professional reputation" with his closest observers, what Neustadt terms "the Washington community" – members of Congress and the Administration, politicians, military leaders, foreign diplomats, newsmen and others. Those observers in turn are influenced by the President's standing with the public, a "factor bearing on their willingness to give him what he wants." "In short, his power is the product of his vantage points in government, together with his reputation in the Washington community and his prestige outside."

Beyond that, a President appears to be stronger if he likes his work – finds it more boon than burden. And it helps if he has a "first-rate temperament" to nourish the necessary confidence, Neustadt finds. (FDR, Mr. Justice Holmes once said, had a "second-rate intellect but a first-rate temperament.")

All of this is good common sense, and not exactly news to the Professional Washingtonian. But judging by the

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Daniel M. Friedenberg *has travelled extensively throughout Latin America.* Herbert Gold's *newest novel,* Therefore Be Bold *was published last fall. He is the author of a new play which will be produced on Broadway this season.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quantity of vague and pointless writing about the Presidency that political scientists pour out each year Mr. Neustadt's analysis will be news in his profession.

Neustadt's book will surely be admired by his colleagues for its unusual ring of authenticity, but it is doubtful that it can set a new style. Neustadt had some special advantages: a "second generation bureaucrat," he learned the New Deal alphabet over his cereal and spent his young manhood in the War government. Students and teachers who have not had the experience of being more than "visitors" in the Capital will learn a lot from this guide who obviously is in love with politics. It would be no surprise to see him return to Washington himself.

A Short-Story Bonanza

by Herbert Gold

Within the confused contemporary American literary scene, in which many writers seem to strive for attention as the classical starlet strives for parts – by pan-fried personal lives immediately translated into the negotiable currency of the news item – George P. Elliott has managed to make his reputation in a curious way. As poet, critic, essayist, short-story writer, and novelist (*Parktilden Village*, 1958), he has quietly assumed the burden of the old-fashioned man of letters. The odd and effective method by which he has sent his name into the busy world is this one: Beneath all the demand for brilliance in a "young writer," he has kept his gaze upon the need for truth.

Among the Dangs
by George P. Elliott
(Holt, Rinehart and Winston; $3.95)

Among the Dangs, a collection of ten of his stories, shows a thickly questing imagination at work. Many of the stories have that density of feeling and character, and complexity of event, which only a generous mind dares to employ in the story form. Occasionally, when the crucial moments are implied through a pointillist technique of suggestion, a generosity intelligent reader is also required. For example, "A Family Matter" uses a series of brief dramatic notations to define and redefine the shifting relationships among three families in which the three very different husbands are all sons of a wild, intelligent, aging genius of an inventor. With all the Oedipal complexity of family connections, and all the pathos of the twilight fading of a great monster, the story ends with a scene of quiet domesticity precariously regained.

Several of these stories deal with family complications. Several are concerned with the possibilities of purity through isolation, and through examination of formal religious life, Elliott shows both the homeliness and the extraordinary clarity sometimes yielded up by a stricter piety than our seculiar lives permit. (Privacy is an essential good, he shows, but the isolated man has nothing to be private *from*.) Several of the stories are fables of purity through an extreme testing outside our civilization. In one, "NRACP," a fantasy of corruption, Elliott deals with a possible American future of concentration camps, in which both victim and jailer are ultimately devoured; the fact that he is dealing with the bureaucratic, political, guilt-laden and responsibility-evaded present is seen ominously, as we see objects on a highway in the dark – by just turning subtly from the glare of the opposing headlights.

Increasingly, especially in the later stories, Elliott has learned to recognize the humor of his horrors, and with his wit, he has increased his powers. Wit enables him not merely to trumpet his truth, but also to enforce complications and shadows upon the reader hypnotized by the glare of headlights. In "Hymn of the Angels," in which a high-Yiddish recording engineer strives with an entire monastery and particularly with a monk who was once a jazz musician, Elliott performs a marvelous acrobatic stunt of serious over comic, comic over serious, and then suddenly, at the end, performs the main job of the

LONELY, HUNGRY, COLD . . .

Jong Sook lives with her grandmother in a tent. The grandmother peddles soup. She earns enough for one meal a day for herself and Jong Sook. Jong Sook dreams of school but her grandmother cannot afford the small school fees.

Jong Sook's parents fled to South Korea in 1950 seeking freedom from Communist rule in the North. They lived as refugees. After the cease fire, her father worked as a fisherman. In 1957 he was lost at sea. One month later her mother died in childbirth. Jong Sook needs your friendship.

How you can help . . .

You, your group, your school can give person-to-person help to a needy girl or boy in Greece, Korea, Italy, Finland, France, Lebanon, West Germany or Austria through a Save the Children Federation Sponsorship. Your monthly contribution of $12.50 will provide your sponsored child with supplementary food, warm clothing, household goods and cash. You will receive a photograph and the story of the child you are helping and the child or his family will correspond with you. Please fill in the coupon below and join with thousands of SCF sponsors in a warm, rewarding experience.

SCF NATIONAL SPONSORS INCLUDE:
MRS. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
HON. HERBERT HOOVER
SPYROS SKOURAS

Registered with U. S. State Department Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

Serving Children for 29 Years
SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION
Boston Post Road, Norwalk, Connecticut

I want a ☐ girl ☐ boy in ..... (countries listed above)
or where the need is greatest ☐.
Enclosed is my first payment:
$12.50 a month ☐ $37.50 a quarter ☐
$75 semi-annually ☐ $150 annually ☐
I cannot sponsor a child but enclosed is my contribution of $ .....

Name .....
Address .....
City ..... Zone ..... State .....
Contributions are income tax deductible.
NR-1-1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

story-writer – he leaves us in awed touch with reality. In the dryly fantastic narrative of the much-anthologized title story "Among the Dangs" Elliott presents a summary of the significant experience of an anthropologist who is chosen to visit an Andean tribe as the consequence of three accidental merits: "I was a good mimic, a long-distance runner, and black." Accepted by the Dangs, he nearly loses his own identity; he undergoes an intense experience – and finally returns to the only and practical world.

It should be said that Elliott's moral intensity has occasionally led to an impatience with imagination, or at least a parsimony in giving his data to the reader. However, this spareness is a small defect in a masterly group of stories. Like the hero of "Faq'," we are sent back towards discovery of *terra incognita*, that reasonable and ordered life which is possible amid the essential disorder of being human. Both lyrical and intelligent, this storyteller

> "... is sure that though he does not know what is right for men, ordered perfection is wrong.... Though suffering is bad, the lack of suffering is much worse."

And of this knowledge he is able to make disturbing and compassionate tales.

MOVIES

Officers, Gentlemen, and Others

If you hear laughter from the east these days, it may well be Alec Guinness chortling in London at the American reviews of his latest film, *Tunes of Glory*. He may be chuckling and reflecting that these days an actor can't do a little old-fashioned "character" acting-carpentry in an old-fashioned sentimental show without being deluged with bouquets for his masterfully brilliant portrayal in a profound adult drama. He may even regret that the film wasn't labelled, literally, an actors' romp.

Tunes of Glory (Lopert)
The League of Gentlemen (Kingsley)
The Wackiest Ship in the Army (Columbia)

For what has Guinness done? Assumed a thick Scottish Lowlands burr (by far the easiest of accents for an actor), dyed his hair red and put on a uniform, stiffened his spine and drawn a quick, almost music-hall sketch of a hardened, whiskey-drinking Regular Army officer. It is a competent piece of masquerading, and no fewer than fifty other British actors (and some Americans) could have done it equally well. Guinness seems exceptional in this part only because he is one of the very few film stars who are permitted to play widely differing roles.

And what is the profound drama? The old chestnut about the conflict between the tough, well-loved Regular who is easy on the rules and the newcomer who is put above him – a spit-and-polish desk-jockey who lives by the book. Usually – in the John Wayne, Pat O'Brien, Gregory Peck, *et al.* versions – the story ends in manly lachrymose reconciliation of the opposing views. Here, after an hour and a half of conventional Army film story, it ends in the suicide of the martinet and the collapse of the popular old-timer. Therein lies its profundity.

The cast is familiarly complete: the colonel's daughter secretly in love with a common soldier, her father's worldly-wise actress friend, the kindly old sergeant-major who is expert at face-saving, the brusque sergeant who is subject to tears in the corner of his eye. (John Ford used to have a stock company to do these parts when he was making a string of films about the US Cavalry in the Indian Wars.) In this case they are in a British regiment in its peacetime Scottish barracks. What was juvenile in previous cases has become adult here by virtue of an unhappy ending and a transatlantic setting.

Guinness is obviously not responsible for the effusions of gullible snob-reviewers; neither can he provide depths in a role which permits only journeyman acting. You have only to remember the subtlety of his Sandhurst sobersides in *The Bridge on the River Kwai* to see the difference between creative acting, based on life perceived and imaginatively recast, and merely supplying a set of characteristics to clothe a scriptwriter's mannequin. (Naturally I'm referring here to the relative subtleties in Guinness' acting in these roles, not to the differences between the two men he played.)

John Mills has a somewhat more difficult job as the high-strung newcomer. Mills doesn't often act "gents" and brings this one off well enough; still his performance is not much more free of cliché than is his part.

There is presumably a Royal Commission which decides whether Dennis Price or Nigel Patrick will play any well-bred charmer with a touch of scoundrel in him; Price gets the nod here, and delivers. But Kipling, who was sentimental about uniforms but no fool about stories, would have blushed to use this one.

The League of Gentlemen is also about British officers in peacetime except that these are in mufti and each is under some sort of cloud. Seven of them are brought together to commit a well planned, potentially profitable robbery. The planner and commander is Jack Hawkins, who has evidently not seen *Rififi* or *Seven Thieves* or *Ocean's Eleven* and doesn't know what happens in films to the best-laid plans of muggs and men.

Thus this picture suffers because we have seen so many like it; and because it takes so long to identify and assemble its gang (like its predecessors); and because we know how it must end (like its

Now You Can Show the Classics of WORLD CINEMA in Your Home, Club and School!
SHOW the GREAT FILMS of ALL THE NATIONS!
LA STRADA · BICYCLE THIEF
3 PENNY OPERA · RED BALLOON
ALEXANDER NEVSKY · IKIRU
CARNIVAL IN FLANDERS, 400 OTHERS
$1 for 210 pg. CATALOG No. 26 (cost deducted from 1st order)
BRANDON FILMS, 200 W. 57 St. New York 19, Dept.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

predecessors). Nevertheless all the performances are good, and there is nice crunchy dialogue by Bryan Forbes, who wrote *The Angry Silence* and also acts in this film. The Royal Commission gave the nod to Nigel Patrick for this one – always an engaging sinner. In fact everything is satisfactory in this picture but the basic idea.

The last service film for our attention is American: *The Wackiest Ship in the Army* – a title left unexplained by the story, which deals with a naval officer on a naval mission and in which no Army person is visible or mentioned. During World War II in the Pacific a US naval lieutenant who has been a peacetime yachtsman is yanked off a carrier and ordered to take a broken-down sloop from Australia to New Guinea. There he picks up a scout and drops him behind enemy lines.

Since the lieutenant's crew has never before sailed under canvas and since they must eventually disguise themselves in native dress to escape Japanese detection, you can imagine most of the service jokes that have been cleaned and pressed into service again. You also know that there will be a few heart-tugs and a capital C Climax. But the film has Jack Lemmon in the leading role; and for myself, I would go to see anything of his just to watch him in motion. He plays here with his usual neat, precisely timed Airedale energy, with a nervous intelligent concentration behind even the prattiest of his falls that lifts the part out of comic mechanics into mild virtuosity. Lemmon's material differs widely in quality from film to film, but he has so far prevented anything he has done from sinking into tedium. We can hope that his next film will be more than the rescue operation that this is.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

RECORDS

The Extremes of Aaron Copland

For many years Aaron Copland argued that the modern and contemporary music which the general music public disliked should be as natural and acceptable and interesting to this public as the music of a hundred or two hundred years ago was to the public of that period. He continued this line of argument long after his own decision, in the middle thirties, not to write only the difficult music that interested the small special public of the modern-music concerts, but to write also the accessible music that would interest the large concert public and the new radio and phonograph public – a decision which implied recognition that the modern and contemporary music which the general public disliked was *not* as natural and acceptable and interesting to this public as the music of a hundred or two hundred years ago was to the public of that period. And he continued to write inaccessible works for the small special public at the same time as he produced engaging ballet and film music for the large general public.

In celebration of Copland's sixtieth birthday Columbia has issued recordings of works of both categories. On the one hand ML-5568 (mono) and MS-6168 (stereo) offer the harshly unattractive Piano Variations of 1930 and the no more attractive Piano Fantasy of 1957, performed in impressive fashion by William Masselos. And on the other hand ML-5575 (mono) and MS-6175 (stereo) give us excerpts from the engaging scores for the ballets *Billy the Kid* and *Rodeo*. Leonard Bernstein's performance of the *Rodeo* music with the New York Philharmonic is excellent; but his treatment of the excerpts from *Billy the Kid* is over-deliberate and over-blown, and he omits two of the most beautiful passages in the score – the music for Billy's card game with his jailer and the waltz for his pas de deux with his sweetheart. Another work of this category, the little opera *The Second Hurricane*, which I find less attractive, is on ML-5581 (mono) and MS-6181 (stereo), performed well by Bernstein with the Philharmonic and soloists and chorus drawn from New York's High School of Music and Art.

The performance of *Billy the Kid* is one example of the way Bernstein's considerable gifts are often negated by his major deficiency – his lack of a controlling sense for rightness of measure and proportion; and another example is his performance with the Philharmonic, on Columbia ML-5570 (mono) and MS-6170 (stereo), of the best-known instrumental movements from Berlioz's *Romeo and Juliet* – a performance made unsatisfying by excesses like the lingering retardations in the exquisite Love Scene, the whipping up of tempo that rushes the sections with the magically distant horns in the *Queen Mab* scherzo (the horns, moreover, are not magically distant on these records).

Nor is Bernstein alone in this: on RCA Victor LD (mono) and LDS (stereo) 6091 Reiner's excessively slow tempos and tasteless retardations spoil a performance of Verdi's Requiem, that beautiful product of Verdi's matured – which is to say refined and subtilized – art. This is regrettable since the performance is made otherwise outstanding by the singing of Leontyne Price, Rosalind Elias, Jussi Bjoerling and Giorgio Tozzi and the work of the Vienna Philharmonic and the chorus of the Vienna Society of Friends of Music.

On Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 6150 Price, Elias, Tozzi and Leonard Warren do equally impressive singing in the beautiful melodic structures of Verdi's earlier *Il Trovatore*, in a performance that is paced and shaped ef-

Read it in the January —
POLITICAL AFFAIRS
MANIFESTO OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES OF THE WORLD
Full authorized text. Also—
Blas Roca: Economics of Cuban Revolution
N. Numade: Marxism and African Liberation
Herbert Aptheker: American Morality and Marxism
Subscription $4 • 35c a copy
NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
832 Broadway, New York 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fectively by Arturo Basile. It would be an even better performance if the Manrico were Bjoerling instead of Richard Tucker, whose powerful voice lacks warmth and luster. The orchestra and chorus are those of the Rome Opera.

Reiner also slows down excessively the later portions of the Prelude to Act One of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger*, on Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 2441; but his performances of the Prelude to Act Three and the Dance of the Apprentices from that opera, and of the Rhine Journey and Funeral Music from *Goetterdaemmerung*, are effective. Paced unusually, but not unacceptably, fast are some of the excerpts from Tchaikovsky's *The Nutcracker* on Victor LM (mono) and LSC (stereo) 2328: the music of Act One from the Overture through the March, and the divertissements, pas de deux and final waltz of Act Two. On both records the Chicago Symphony plays superbly.

Klemperer sets a ponderously slow tempo at the very start of the Prelude to Act One of *Die Meistersinger;* but some of his other performances of Wagner pieces with the Philharmonia Orchestra on Angel 3610 (mono) and S-3610 (stereo) are very fine. The ones of the Prelude and Finale of *Tristan und Isolde* and the Funeral Music from *Die Goetterdaemmerung* approximate Toscanini's in tension and power; and the one of the Prelude to Act One of *Lohengrin* is more relaxed and comes off the record more beautiful in sound than Toscanini's. The records also offer the Dance of the Apprentices from *Die Meistersinger* and the Overtures to *Rienzi, Der fliegende Hollaender* and *Tannhaeuser.*

Beethoven's Fourth Symphony is a work that can stand Klemperer's leisurely performance with the Philharmonia on Angel 35661 (mono) and S-35661 (stereo). As for other works of the standard repertory, Capitol G-7223 (mono) and SG-7223 (stereo) have a good performance of Beethoven's Seventh by Beecham and his Royal Philharmonic, with an unusually fast first movement, and with the sound of the finale dry and shallow in the stereophonic version; Angel 35885 (mono) and S-35885 (stereo) offer an effectively straightforward and fine-sounding performance of Tchaikovsky's Fourth by Von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic.

Not everything by Vivaldi is as beautiful as his best; and of the eight concertos that follow the well known *Four Seasons* in *Il Cimento dell' Armonia e dell' Invenzione*, on Angel 3611 (mono) and S-3611 (stereo), I like only Nos. 9 and 12 for oboe and No. 11 for violin. The performances by the Virtuosi di Roma have their usual incandescence of execution, tone and style.

The stereophonic cartridge I would now recommend for use with both stereophonic and monophonic recordings is the Audio Empire 108, which I am using in the Audio Empire 98 arm.

B. H. HAGGIN

LET SOME CHILD LOVE YOU

You or your group can "adopt" a needy child, through Foster Parents' Plan. You will receive photographs, a history of "your child", monthly letters and the greatest gift of all, a child's love.

For information write to;

Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

352 Park Avenue South • N.Y.C. 10, N.Y. Dept. 3

JOBS ABROAD

For teachers, writers, librarians, translators, stenographers and administrators. Top salaries paid by American and foreign companies, governmental and international organizations. How, when and where to apply, $2.00. Money-back guarantee. Included free, "Student Opportunities Abroad." M. Dorf, 186 Covington Lane, Woodbury, N. J.

EUROPE

We'll see the usual plus Russia, Scandinavia, Yugoslavia & N. Africa. A different trip—for the young in spirit who don't want to be herded around. Also shorter trips. Budget priced.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS

255 Sequoia, Box N — Pasadena, California

L'EXPRESS

The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 10¢ for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
Room 503
1475 Broadway
New York 36, N.Y.

HISTORICAL NEWSPAPER FRONT PAGES

authentically reproduced full-size on fine paper. Lincoln's death, Fort Sumter (Southern paper), Civil War end, Chicago fire, Frisco quake (SF paper), Maine sinking, World War I, etc. Set of ten just $3. Guaranteed.

National Textbook, Dept. R
814 North Michigan
Chicago 11

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Avoiding the Holocaust

Sirs:

May I add to Keith Kyle's (à priori) arguments (January 2) in support of at least nuclear disarmament a number of never-mentioned facts: suicidal Hitler – trapped like a rat and swearing for years before that he would bring the world down with his ruin – did not gut Europe with his arsenals of gas, chemicals and germs. Tacit or legal, the Geneva Convention after World War I apparently *did* outlaw even gas warfare. And Truman did not dream of stopping Russia in Poland and China in Korea with another A-bomb. Hiroshima was the only lesson the world needed.

Assuming that Khrushchev is a cross between a dictator and haberdasher, the chances are that he will continue to shoot his mouth rather than H-bombs off. Moreover both the USA and USSR are vast and self-sufficient enough not to *need* what the other has – even at the price of a holocaust.

The greatest danger now is that some Lumumba-Mobutu may get and accidentally trigger an intercontinental missile. It will be healthier for all small nations and the planet if the USA and USSR make it impossible for any other nation to get any war material, even if Nick and JFK with their few allies have to divide the world between them.

Sidney Blackstone
Chicago, Ill.

More Reflection on Eichmann

Sirs:

Regarding Mr. Playfair's review "Eichmann and the Problem of Justice" (November 21, 1960), capital punishment is abhorrent, but the abhorrence aroused by considering Adolf Eichmann is greater. The individual capacity for suffering, multiplied by millions, is of the type that passes understanding and surpasses the bounds of ortho-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dox law. Some say that the evidence that the Jews themselves fell unresistingly, if not actually "leaped," into their graves is somehow an extenuating circumstance for Eichmann. This is not so. A people's being so beaten that its fear of death is numbed should alone be enough to drive home the enormity of what happened.

J. T. Brink
Kassel, Germany

Richard Du Boff (December 26) censured Justice Samuel H. Hofstadter (December 5) for reading Eichmann out of the human race by comparing his words to Eichmann's own about "subhuman" categories, and concluded by asking if those millions so relegated by their killers had died in vain.

The facility of that argument leaves one at first feeling a little helpless. It's true we can't do what we can't do, read a man out of the race. That's firm ground. We can only wish crimes of hideous cruelty were subhuman, instead of being, to the best of our knowledge and observation, specifically human. None of the lower species of mammals seems to engage in them in even rudimentary degree.

Either we're for capital punishment or we're against it. If it's a moral question it becomes invalid at the threshold of any individual case. Opposition to deliberated killing is for most only a moral assumption anyway, because we are able under certain circumstances to waive it: most of us are (1) meat-eaters and (2) willing to concede that wars, once they occur, must be fought. Whereas a genuine conviction cannot be waived: it is an imperative, an injunction, as "Thou shalt not kill"; it may be broken but not debated.

The issue was used dishonestly by many in the Caryl Chessman case; their imaginations and emotions were touched by the thus far unparalleled effort of a caged felon to stay alive, and they simply, totally, didn't want that particular man to die.

And it seems to me that many of the arguments about the Eichmann case are the same thing in reverse: an issue is being used to cloak lack of caring very much. In the name of clinical fairness, in the modern diffusion of responsibility, it is now proper to care only to the degree of that comfortable diffusion, because all men are guilty.

Evelyn Houston
Alhambra, California

Exodus

Sirs:

Stanley Kauffmann's review of *Exodus* ranks Part One as a "triumph," apparently for no more cogent a reason than that it is a well-filmed and very sympathetic portrayal of the plight of Europe's Jewish refugees after World War II. After a cursory enumeration of the aesthetic reasons for this evaluation, Mr. Kauffmann introduces the usual appeal for commiseration and sympathy with the Jews' efforts to enter Palestine.

It is not my intention to discuss the dubious aesthetic value of such criticism, but merely to indicate that the review, as stands, is a tendentious description of the Jewish refugee-Palestine problem. The refugees, as Mr. Kauffmann says, had undergone great suffering and it was therefore high time that a haven for them be found. However, Mr. Kauffmann has disregarded any reference to the rights of the Palestinian Arabs, who, even after the wave of illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine so stridently described in the novel, still constituted two-thirds of the entire area's population. He has also neglected to mention, or is unaware, that *even in the Israeli-occupied sector of Palestine,* an estimated 80 percent of the land was owned by Arabs (see the report by the Palestine Conciliation Commission).

These ineluctable facts controvert the commonly accepted contention, so glowingly advanced by the novel and the movie, that Palestine is the "promised" homeland of the Jews.

The glamour and the fanfare of the film's opening, though perhaps no more pompous than that of any other Superramic production, merely sharpen the appraisal of Uris' novel by Moshe Sharett, who, as head of the Histadrut Publishing House, refused to publish it in Israel because ". . . If it is to be read as history, it is inaccurate. If it is to be read as literature, it is vulgar."

Edward Babun
New York, N.Y.

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N.J.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS
Economical, insured moving and storage vans, wagons—NYC, resorts, long distance
AL 5-8343
The Padded Wagon, Inc. New York, N. Y.

ATTORNEY DESIRES POSITION
in industry or business primarily; age 31, member of the California Bar for two years; Los Angeles area; resume of experience sent upon request; Box 30, New Republic, 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

PEACE!
TWO STARTLING PROPOSALS
for improving communication with Russia, by S. I. Hayakawa and Anatol Rapoport. In the new issue of ETC.: A Review of General Semantics. Sample copy 25 cents: ETC., Dept. 40, 400 W. North Ave., Chicago.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

MAKE YOUR WILL!
Two approved Will Forms and simple "Instruction Guide," $1.00.
National Forms, Box 48313NR,
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

Let us MAKE YOUR OPINIONS COUNT
Let us SEND THEM TO EVERY CONGRESSMAN
Let us do this fo 33 cents a month
ACOPOLL (NR) 430 S. Michigan, Chicago, Ill.

$70 WEEKLY — home, spare time. Simplified mail bookkeeping. Immediate income - easy! Auditax, 34757 DA, Los Angeles 34.

SUPPORT OLD AGE AID
SOCIAL SECURITY
MEDICAL CARE
WRITE TO YOUR CONGRESSMAN

"HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?
Is all your concern for people? Then welcome to the ranks of HUMANISTS. We cordially invite you to join the AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; we have local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three month special trial membership (or $3 for year) to:
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To introduce to you the beautiful volumes of the

INTERNATIONAL COLLECTORS LIBRARY

ANY 3

of 22 masterworks in these authentic period bindings

(A $10.95 value in International Collectors Library Editions)

for only **$1.89** WITH TRIAL MEMBERSHIP

THE great private libraries of the past have bequeathed to us rare and sumptuous volumes of exquisite, hand-crafted design. These volumes are today priceless treasures found only in museums and in the libraries of the wealthy. Yet — on the most limited budget, you may have thrilling reproductions commissioned by the International Collectors Library!

A MAGNIFICENT LIFETIME LIBRARY FOR YOUR HOME. Within the exclusive, luxurious bindings of the International Collectors Library are the greatest works of literature — novels, poetry, travel, biography, history — some of which, extraordinarily long in the original, have been abridged for modern reading. Each binding is inspired by the splendor of the original, and is elaborately embossed in 24K gold, to enrich your home. The paper is of special quality, and the page tops gleam with genuine gold. Each volume has its own attractive ribbon marker.

AVAILABLE TO MEMBERS ONLY. The Library distributes these volumes *to members only* for just $3.65 each. These beautiful editions are not for sale anyplace else. You will receive an advance notice each month of the forthcoming release. If you do not want it, simply notify us and it will not be sent; otherwise, it will come to you for only $3.65 plus small shipping charge. You are not obligated to accept any specific number of selections, and you may resign your trial membership at any time.

MAIL THE COUPON TODAY! Send for your *three* volumes for free examination. If you are not overwhelmed by their beauty and value, return them in 7 days and owe nothing. Or, pay only $1.89 (plus shipping) for all three and become a Library member. Remember — you accept only the books you want, and you may cancel membership at any time. So — mail the coupon *now!*

CHOOSE THE 3 VOLUMES YOU WANT FOR $1.89
(Titles Available Only in Binding Indicated)

THE LOVE POEMS & SONNETS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
Marie Antoinette Binding (Soft tan)

AROUND THE WORLD IN 80 DAYS – Jules Verne
LES MISERABLES – Victor Hugo
Abridged to 384 pages
MADAME BOVARY – Flaubert
Mme. de Pompadour Binding (Antique brown)

THE TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO
Cobden-Sanderson Binding (Laurel green)

ARUNDEL – Kenneth Roberts
GONE WITH THE WIND – Margaret Mitchell
THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES – Nathaniel Hawthorne
MOBY DICK – Herman Melville
Abridged to 432 pages
THE SILVER CHALICE – Thomas B. Costain
William Morris Binding (Blue and gold)

ANNA KARENINA – Tolstoy
THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV – Dostoevsky
Abridged to 483 pages
CRIME AND PUNISHMENT – Dostoevsky
WAR AND PEACE – Tolstoy
Abridged to 741 pages
Czar Alexander II Binding (Wine-red)

JANE EYRE – Charlotte Bronte
THE LAST DAYS OF POMPEII – Bulwer-Lytton
PRIDE AND PREJUDICE – Jane Austen
WUTHERING HEIGHTS – Emily Bronte
Mercier Binding (Rich blue)

THE CRUSADES: The Flame of Islam – Harold Lamb
French Empire Binding (Rich tan)

JAMAICA INN – Daphne du Maurier
OF HUMAN BONDAGE – Maugham
THE WAY OF ALL FLESH – Samuel Butler
Louis XVI Binding (Superb green)

INTERNATIONAL COLLECTORS LIBRARY, Garden City, New York

International Collectors Library, Dept. 1-NP-1
Garden City, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a trial member in the International Collectors Library and send me the three volumes checked below. Bill me only $1.89 — the special trial membership introductory price for all three volumes — plus shipping. If I am not delighted, I will return all three books in 7 days, my trial membership will be cancelled, and I will owe nothing.

As a member, I am to receive an advance description of each forthcoming selection. However, I am not obligated to accept any specific number of books, and I may reject any volume either before or after receiving it. For each future volume I do accept, I will send you just $3.65 plus shipping. It is understood that I may resign membership at any time simply by notifying you.

Check the Three Volumes You Want for Just $1.89

- ☐ Around the World in 80 Days (1)
- ☐ Arundel (2)
- ☐ Brothers Karamazov (3)
- ☐ Crime & Punishment (4)
- ☐ The Crusades (5)
- ☐ Gone With The Wind (6)
- ☐ Jamaica Inn (7)
- ☐ Jane Eyre (8)
- ☐ Last Days of Pompeii (9)
- ☐ Les Miserables (10)
- ☐ Poems of Shakespeare (11)
- ☐ Madame Bovary (12)
- ☐ Moby Dick (13)
- ☐ Of Human Bondage (14)
- ☐ The Silver Chalice (15)
- ☐ War and Peace (16)
- ☐ Wuthering Heights (17)
- ☐ Anna Karenina (18)
- ☐ Pride & Prejudice (19)
- ☐ Way of All Flesh (20)
- ☐ Travels of Marco Polo (21)
- ☐ House of 7 Gables (22)

MR.
MRS.
MISS (Please print)

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....ZONE....STATE..... CL-24

Same offer to residents of Canada. Address: International Collectors Library, 105 Bond St., Toronto 2. Offer good in Continental USA and Canada only.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED